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FIVE CENTS

The Suffragist

OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN OF
THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

SATURDAY, MAY 10, 1919

Drawn by Nina E. Allender

May we not Suggest* Victory for Liberty *in the United States

National Woman's Party

(Incorporated, 1918)

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OBJECT: TO SECURE AN AMENDMENT TO THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION ENFRANCHISING WOMEN

MEMBERSHIP: Open to all women who, regarding woman suffrage as the foremost political issue of the day, support it irrespective of the interests of any national political party.

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Notes of the Week

Suffrage in the States

THE suffrage referendum bill in Florida was finally defeated by the lower house of the legislature in spite of the high hopes of its supporters for its passage.

The vote against the bill was 40 to 33, a few votes short of the necessary three-fifths majority. One of the supporters of the measure then changed his vote in order that it might be reconsidered. Upon reconsideration a few days later the bill was again defeated. One opponent of the measure argued against it:

"It will mean ultimate destruction to the nation if this amendment is submitted. If it is put to the vote of the people you will see a majority rolled up in favor of it and it will ultimately result in the ruin of the purity of our womanhood. Whenever any nation reaches the acme of power it seems that it must do some fool thing that brings about its downfall."

Another opponent stated that women are as inferior to men mentally as they are physically.

A presidential suffrage bill was presented to the Connecticut legislature and was defeated by the state Senate by a vote of 19 to 16. A petition containing thousands of names had been presented to the legislature asking for the passage of the bill.

The legislature of the territory of Hawaii defeated a suffrage referendum bill by a small majority.

Will Women Hold War Jobs?

THE figures on unemployment in Great Britain show that the unemployment among men is increasing more rapidly than among women which indicates that women are not being discharged from the positions they have held as rapidly as men are being discharged from the army. By an examination of the conditions in the trades in which women have worked it is plain that women are being dismissed wholesale only from those trades where they have been getting the same pay as men—for example, tramway and 'bus conductorettes in London and Newcastle-on-Tyne, railway workers, and the women in the boot and shoe trade. The women working for less pay than the men they replaced—"bootlegging" as the English call it, are being retained. The tables are turned upon the men who advocated low wages for women—and who now are being kept out of work by the women who have undercut them.

Argentina Feminist Society

THE recently formed Argentina Woman's Party is asking not only full political power for women in Argentina, but also world representation for them at the council of the League of Nations.

A Correction

ATTENTION has been called to a very glaring error in the story of the Senate Situation in the issue of April 30. In the third column on page 6 there is a sentence which should read: "It is significant that not a single one of these thirteen new members has said that he would vote against the amendment, and **nine** (instead of **ten** as stated) of them have expressed their intention to support it. Seven of the new men who have made such statements are Republicans and only two are Democrats, leaving one Republican and three Democrats unpledged."

Women of Uruguay Seek Property Rights

ANOTHER South American country which has a very active woman's organization is Uruguay. The women there have recently been making a fight to have women taught certain trades by the Woman's Industrial School, especially that of linotypist. They have been working for the passage of bills now before their House of Representatives to give full civil rights to women. One of these bills refers to the admission of women to all liberal professions. Another would give women whether married or not, the right to have complete charge of their own property.

Women Are Mentioned

THE revised league of nations covenant adds,

"All positions under or in connection with the league, including the secretariat, shall be open equally to men and women." The opportunity for women from countries where they do not vote to secure such positions will hardly be equal to those of men.

Women are specifically mentioned in another article of the covenant. "Members of the league will endeavor to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labor for men, women and children both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend." The league will be intrusted "with the general supervision over the execution of agreements with regard to the traffic in women and children and the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs." The classification of women and children with dangerous drugs is a new one.

A few more words for women is the only recognition they are receiving from the league of nations.

Japanese Women and Universal Suffrage

THE agitation for universal suffrage in Japan which at first meant universal suffrage for men has been broadened to include women. The demand for woman suffrage has been made by men as much as by women since the Japanese women as a whole have not yet shown their interest in politics. One of the most prominent women identified with the movement is Mrs. Akiki Yosano, who is a poet and literary critic. In an article in the Woman's Review she says:

"The participation of women in politics is strictly forbidden by the law.

"Recently a big mass meeting in favor of universal suffrage was held in Kanda, and I was asked by the promoters to deliver an address. I was very much pleased to think that I might represent the will of Japanese women on that occasion. But, to my great disappointment, I could not even attend the meeting, as the law prohibits the attendance of women at any political gathering.

"Women should exert themselves for restoration of their rights, lost many thousand years ago. As Japanese subjects, we women are and must feel ourselves absolutely equal to the men. We contribute to the country through labor, mentally and physically equally as much as men do."

British Women and the Legal Profession

THE agitation for the admission of women to the practise of law in England is still being carried on. The bill enabling them to become barristers and solicitors has now been passed by the House of Lords. The bill is not a government one, but Mr. Bonar Law has promised time for it in the Commons. The most opportune time for its consideration would be the present before the Budget is brought up. In England, as in this country, once legislators begin a discussion of the nation's finances other bills have little chance of consideration. This bill would not admit women in Scotland or Ireland to practice law. It has the endorsement of the Law Society by a vote of 50 to 33; it has also the support of Sir F. E. Smith, the Lord Chancellor, who in the old days was one of the most ardent opponents of the enfranchisement of women.

Woman Alderman in Sweden

"A SERVANT girl in Stockholm, the capital of Sweden, has just been elected alderman of that city. She enjoys the distinction of being the first domestic servant elected to a body corresponding to our city board of supervisors. She is said to be capable and to take her new dignity with becoming modesty. She will retain her position as maid with the family by whom she has been employed for a number of years. She was elected on a ballot system of proportional representation."—*The Public.*

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted

In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced

January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

Reported from Committee
In the Senate

1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890 Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1917, Favorable majority.

In the House

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.
1917, Without recommendation.
1918, Favorable majority.

Voted Upon
In the Senate

January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 25 (of whom 4 were announced as for and 2 against).
March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.
October 1, 1918, yeas 54, nays 30, failing by 2 of the two-thirds vote.
February 10, 1919, yeas 55, nays 29, failing by one of the necessary two- thirds vote.

In the House

January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.
Passed January 10, 1918, by one vote over necessary two-thirds majority.

THE NATIONAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following articles be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

The Suffragist

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An Appeal to Suffragists

IT has been pointed out that there is still an uncertainty of the passage of the suffrage amendment in the United States Senate. Only sixty-three votes have been pledged and sixty-four are necessary. This vote may come from either the Democrats or the Republicans, but shall we be patient until it comes? As long as we appear satisfied, political leaders will be satisfied.

Are you satisfied?

WHAT sacrifice will you make to bring the leaders of both parties to an appreciation of the fact that the women of America are not satisfied?

THIS appeal is not directed to Republican or Democratic women, but to SUFFRAGISTS—those who put the suffrage amendment above the interest of any political party, whatever may be their predilections in favor of one or the other party.

AN equal measure of devotion to the cause, an equal intensity of demand, an equal degree of honesty in placing the responsibility for attempted delay or attempted defeat of the measure wherever and whenever it exists, is the least that each and every loyal suffragist can pledge to the cause.

A SINGLE day may decide the issue. Do you stand ready to abide that decision? Do you pledge your honor to the cause of woman's enfranchisement and defy the world to shake you from that pledge?

GREAT issues are at stake; and it is thus that we must rally to our own, and thus that we must stand, together—true to the fundamental demand of the human spirit for liberty.

WOMEN what will you do for suffrage; how firm do you stand for it today?

The House and Its Promise

ON every hand there are evidences of the growing warmth with which the federal suffrage amendment is being received. Its early passage by the House of Representatives seems to be accepted by every one as a foregone conclusion, and we are told on every hand that it is sure to pass the Senate, although no one has yet given definite assurance as to where the one vote that is still needed will come from.

In the House there are a total of 435 votes, and already more than the required two-thirds are pledged to the amendment. Many of the states are increasing their vote for suffrage over what they gave in the last Congress, as an evidence of the increased public sentiment. There are twenty-two states whose delegations will give a solid favorable vote in the House and twenty-five in the Senate.

WHEN it is considered that 55 per cent of the votes of the national conventions and electoral college will come from suffrage states, the anxiety of politicians to "play safe" with the woman vote makes the question one of foremost consideration as a national issue, and in anticipation of its early passage, as a result of such a situation, congressmen and senators alike have been slower than ever before to declare against it.

Some who, in the past, have held honest convictions against the amendment, have changed their positions in recognition of the fact that this is a representative form of government, and that to yield to the wishes of the people is after all the highest duty of the representatives of the people. We can feel a peculiar sympathy for a man who, at the sacrifice of his personal views, however mistaken they may be, recognizes the principle of representative government, for that is a real test of true American statesmanship.

EVERY day brings reports of deputations throughout the country. It is impossible to give details of all of these. Some of the reports contain statements too lengthy for publication and some contain statements that were not intended for publication. It is usually in states where the vote has been about equally divided heretofore but now shows a gain that new pledges are not made public.

Every mail brings in returns of the questionnaires that were sent out by the Lobby Committee about a month ago. The answers to numbers of them are written by the congressmen themselves, some of whom report on their own habits, hobbies and peculiarities as though they felt that an honest confession might be good for their souls.

ONE of the interesting things about the House situation is the increase in support from Southern members. This may be, in part, due to a reaction from the defeat of the measure in the Senate and the fixing of the responsibility upon the Democratic Party. The enthusiasm with which the South responded to the appeal of the Prison Special has been felt in various ways. The eleventh hour effort of the Democrats in the Sixty-fifth Congress was one of the evidences of the reaction. The passage of a partial suffrage bill by the Tennessee Legislature, and a highly favorable vote in the Florida Legislature are further evidences of the demand of Southern people that their party redeem itself in one way or another.

Lobbying and Political Work

Recognized by Literary Digest and Russell Sage Foundation

THE Russell Sage foundation has asked for a set of cards used by the Lobby Committee of the National Woman's Party for a special study of publicity and organization work which it is about to begin. One of the evidences of the suffrage campaign conducted by the National Woman's Party, has been the numerous tributes paid to the work of the Lobby Committee by the press in all parts of the country. The Literary Digest of March 29 carried a two-page article in which it was said, in part: "He (an opposing Congressman) had figured without Maud Younger and her card-index system, an elaborate, powerful, and hitherto little-known instrument cleverly conceived to bring to bear on Congressmen the necessary amount of 'pressure' to insure their support of the amendment. To its influence much of the advance of the cause is attributed, and on its efficiency the women base their hopes of victory during the session of the next Congress.

"It is a very simple, though comprehensive 'system' which seeks, first, to discover whoever and whatever has the most influence with a Congressman, and then sets to work to bring that influence to bear. . . . Every possible detail that will be of assistance to the energetic lobbyist in pursuit of a vote is entered on these cards. And Miss Maud Younger, chairman of the Lobby Committee of the National Woman's Party is the keeper of the index and has directed its use for three years."

SUFFRAGISTS are concerned, directly, with the men who can vote on the amendment, the members of Congress—and, indirectly, with other men who, although they are not members of Congress, hold a powerful influence upon the fate of the amendment. How is this influence turned in favor of suffrage?

At headquarters from twenty to thirty women and often a greater number are always "on the job." Out in the field, from east to west, from north to south, as many organizers are working, always enlisting the cooperation of local women. Wherever opposition exists it is studied, analyzed, and traced to its original source. Sometimes that tracing leads to great political centers and great political leaders. Sometimes it leads to obscure committeemen in far-away places, but wherever it leads an effort is made to reach the source and uproot the opposition.

Such work has gone on constantly and is still going on, and the background of unremitting toil against which our demonstrations are seen represents the devotion and consecration of thousands of women.

THE Minneapolis Tribune puts it this way in an editorial headed "Suffrage Lobbying a Science":

"As Achilles was vulnerable in the heel, so every member of the United States Congress is presumed to have his vulnerable spot or spots. To find these and to wing their targets, thereat is the business which the lobbyists of the National Woman's Party in Washington have set for themselves in their effort to have the Susan B. Anthony constitutional amendment approved and submitted.

"The lobby committee is fortified with an elaborate card system that might put the Scotland Yard 'sleuths' to the blush if they compared it with their own. However, the suffrage lobbyists deny that they use any detectives to delve into life records of congressional 'prospects' or to discover the foibles, habits, financial ties, mental bent and the like of members of Congress. They disavow any 'catty' instincts in their efforts to find a telltale cross-section of the life, character and vulnerability of the men they are after as potential converts to the national suffrage cause.

"It is said the card index holds twenty-two distinct cards bearing on each member of Congress. The information presented in the files is used with expert skill and adroitness in the endeavor to penetrate and win the mind and heart of men who do the voting.

"If a member appear to be more potently influenced by his mother than by his wife, the mother's aid is invoked to bring him to "the mourner's bench,' and thence, if possible, into the suffrage fold. If a member be susceptible to the pressure of a labor organization, a financial backer, or a flood of letters from his home state or district, that fact is duly noted and made the most of. If he have marked respect for the editorial attitude of a newspaper, effort is made to reach him through that publication. If a member remarks with an accent of finality that the women of his state or district do not wish suffrage, the wheels are set in motion to bring down upon his office an avalanche of letters from these women pleading for his official favor."

Rallying Forces in Pennsylvania

THE Annual convention of the Pennsylvania branch of the Woman's Party was held in Philadelphia on April 26. Miss Paul, Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, Miss Maud Younger, Miss Mabel Vernon, Mrs. Lawrence Lewis and Miss Vida Milholland, all national officers, attended, and following the conference a dinner and mass meeting was held in the ball room at the Bellevue-Stratford.

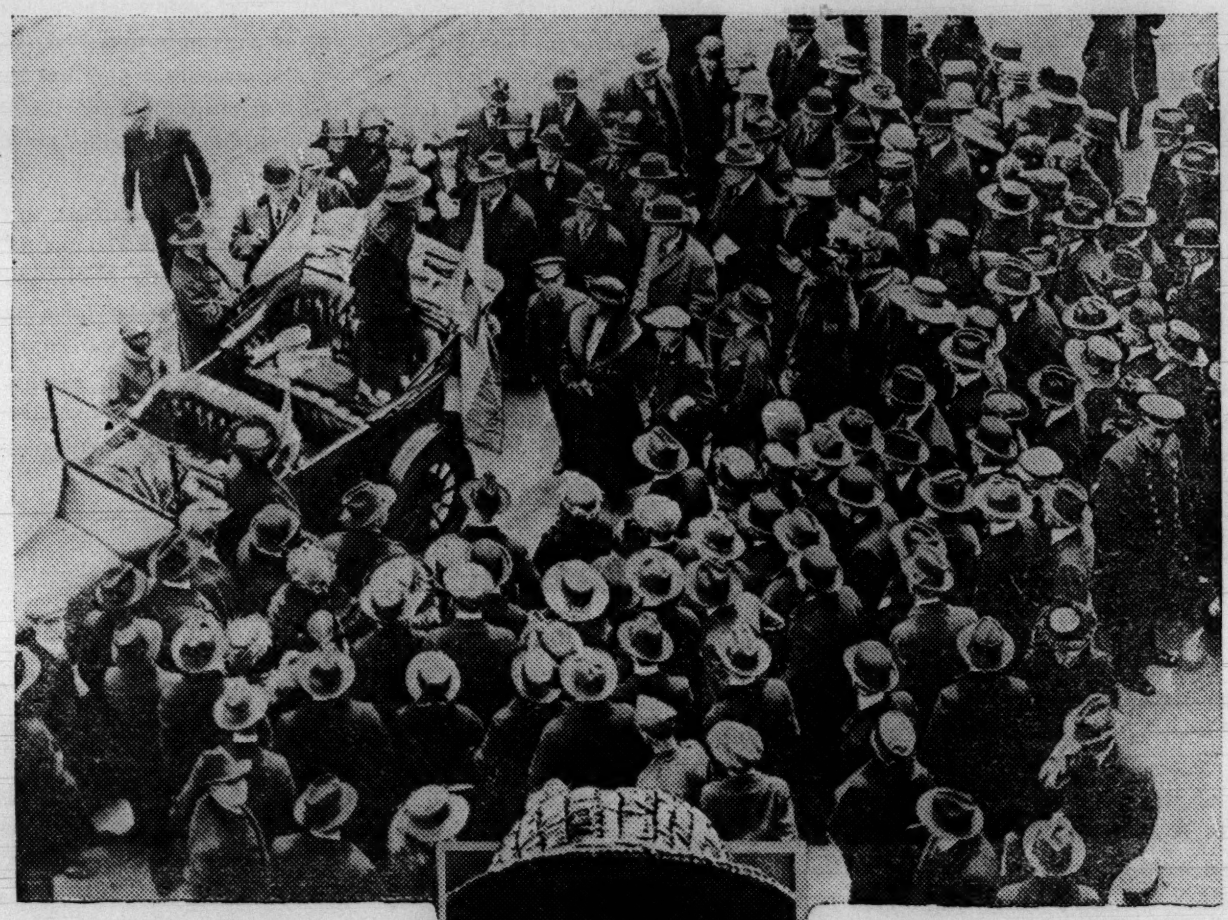
Mrs. Havemeyer told of her arrest and imprisonment in Washington on February 9, for participating with more than a hundred women in the watch-fire demonstration when the cartoon effigy of President Wilson was burned as a protest against the failure of his party to enfranchise the women of America, and of the subsequent tour of the Prison Special as a last desperate effort to get the measure through the 65th Congress. She showed very graphically the effect of the Prison Special tour through the Democratic South and the West, in spurring the Democrats in Congress to action, although their action came too late to avoid the filibuster of the Republicans on the last day of Congress.

She said: "We demonstrated before the White House for the same reason that Luther burnt the Papal Bulls before the gates of Wittenburg—because we held the party in power responsible for the intolerable injustice we suffered. Admitted to be a war measure, our amendment was the only war measure allowed to be defeated, and that with only one vote needed—Yes, and again defeated in March with all needed votes ready. If the political parties are 'dealing' together, all I can say is, there is another party to deal with—the Woman's Party."

As to the trip of the Prison Special, Mrs. Havemeyer said: "If we went into a city hostile to us, we left it friendly. We had only to present our case to win it. If they were friendly, we left them more friendly, enthusiastic, ready to work for us, as in the case of Tennessee which has just granted Presidential suffrage, and Louisiana, which contributed the last needed vote in the Senate a few days before Congress adjourned."

Miss Younger related the story of the political work of the past six years, and the progress made by the suffragists by an intensive lobby, symbolic demonstrations, illegal imprisonments, and "watch-fires of freedom."

(Courtesy Philadelphia Public Ledger)



Street Meeting in Philadelphia

Lucy Branham, Organizer of National Woman's Party

THE room was ablaze with purple, white and gold, and about fifty young women, many of them students from the Women's Medical College, acted as ushers, as sellers of The Suffragist, as collectors of the contributions and in every other capacity in which they were needed. Miss Vida Milholland delighted the throng with her prison ballads, and her singing of the Woman's Marseillaise struck the keynote of the meeting.

THE hall was packed, with people standing in the aisles and balcony, and the immense audience responded enthusiastically to Miss Vernon's appeal for funds to carry on the campaign. More than two thousand dollars were pledged.

One vote short in the Senate, was the announcement made by Miss Paul in speaking of the present situation, and she brought forth a burst of enthusiasm when she called for solidarity among suffragists in the present crisis.

She pointed out that President Wilson took an active part in the election of Senators Harris of Georgia and Harrison of Mississippi and that the vote of either one would give the necessary sixty-four votes to pass the amendment.

MISS Mary Ingham, Philadelphia, was re-elected Chairman of the Pennsylvania Branh at the morning session. Other officers elected were Miss Mary E. Bakewell, Pittsburgh, First Vice Chairman; Miss Joan L. Brumm, Minersville, Second Vice Chairman; Mrs. Mary A. BurnhBam, Philadelphia, Third Vice Chairman; Mrs. Mary Churchman Morgan, Philadelphia, Recording Secretary; Miss Sarah Graham Tomkins, Philadelphia, Corresponding Secretary, and Miss Rebecca D. Ernst, Philadelphia, Treasurer.

AN intensive campaign has been in progress for the past several weeks in various congressional districts of Pennsylvania. Numerous public meetings indoors and out, have been held in and around Philadelphia. A suffrage rally was held at Bryn Mawr Theatre, when the picketing, arrests and demonstrations were described by Miss Lucy Branham and illustrated by lantern slides showing numbers of the White House pickets, the Watch Fires, the "militants" in prison garb, and the cartoon effigy burned in front of the White House in the last demonstration, and other interesting features of the campaign at Washington.

The Maryland Convention

THE Maryland branch of the National Woman's Party, known as the Just Government League of Maryland, held its ninth annual convention in Baltimore on April 26. Delegates were in attendance from the four legislative districts of the city of Baltimore and from Baltimore, Carroll, Howard, Kent, and Talbot Counties.

Mrs. Donald Hooker, the President, in her address to the convention emphasized the need for an immediate rallying of forces to demand the passage of the federal amendment in the special session of the Sixty-sixth Congress. A full discussion of the situation in the Senate and House, led by Mrs. Lawrence Lewis of Philadelphia, member of the National Executive Committee of the Woman's Party, brought out forcefully the stupendous work which the National Woman's Party has been doing, in polling Congress and bringing pressure to bear upon members. Mrs. Lewis put special stress upon the importance of sending delegations to wait upon Maryland Congressmen and as a result, chairmen were appointed to arrange deputations to Mr. Mudd, Mr. Coady, Mr. Benson, Mr. Zihlman, and Mr. Andrews. The deputations will be in charge of Mrs. Mary Campbell MacPherson, Mrs. Howard Schwarz, Mrs. S. K. Herr, Miss Anne Herkner, Miss Caroline E. Wilson, Mrs. Philip Lee Travers, and Mrs. Theodore W. Forbes

A luncheon was served at noon by a committee of which Mrs. C. N. Gabriel was chairman. The clever anecdotes of Mrs. Townsend Scott, who acted as toastmistress, proved that campaign speeches are not the only kind of oratory in which some suffragists excel. Among those who responded to toasts were Mr. Western Starr, Miss Barbara Schelling, Mrs. Robert

Mrs. Donald R. Hooker, President Maryland Just Government League

Walker, Mrs. S. K. Herr, and Mrs. Charles Eugene Powers.

The afternoon session of the convention was given over to a round table discussion, opened by Dr. Flora Pollack and Miss Madorah Donohue, both of whom spoke on Social Hygiene. Mrs. T. W. Forbes and Mrs. Frances M. Goodwin gave an interesting comparison of the prices of food-stuffs, while Mrs. J. Wm. Funck, president of the Woman Suffrage Party of Maryland, discussed the possibilities of the next legislature ratifying the federal amendment in the event it is passed by the special session of Congress.

Mrs. Robert Walker discussed methods, and said: "The suffragists of Maryland should have learned a lesson from the recent primary campaign for the Democratic candidate for Mayor in Baltimore. That was a campaign of advertisement on an enormous scale, and because of that, a campaign of education. That is the explanation of our so-called militant measures."

The guests were entertained at dinner at the home of Dr. and Mrs. Donald R. Hooker when Mrs. Lewis addressed the delegates. After dinner dancing was indulged in until a late hour.

Mrs. Hooker was re-elected President, with the following corps of officers: First vice-president, Mrs. Chas. J. Ogle; second vice-president, Mrs. Calvin N. Gabriel; treasurer, Miss Eleanor White; recording secretary, Miss Maria Martin; corresponding secretary, Miss Rosamond Smith. The board of governors, the officers, together with the presidents of the county leagues, the chairmen of standing committees, the presidents of the four legislative districts of Baltimore city and members elected at large are as follows: Mrs. Townsend Scott, Mrs. Howard T. Schwarz, Miss Mary Bartlett Dixon, Mrs. C. H. Dankmyer, Mrs. Robert Walker, Rev. Olympia Brown, Mrs. T. N. Forbes, Mrs. M. Tilghman Johnson, Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, Mrs. M. Burlingame, Mrs. Almira Sweeten, Mrs. Rignal Baldwin, Mrs. George Rollman, Mrs. C. E. Powers and Mrs. Wm. S. Eckert.

Zinkham Dismissed as Jail Superintendent

LOUIS C. Zinkham, whose official hospitality (?) as Superintendent of the District of Columbia Jail, will long be remembered by the suffrage prisoners, is superintendent no more, having been dismissed from office. This marks the passing of the third official of the District of Columbia against whom complaints have been lodged by the National Woman's Party in the course of its agitation in Washington.

The first man to go was Major Sylvester, head of the police force, who resigned following the failure of the police to protect the suffrage parade in 1913 and the subsequent investigation by the Senate.

The next man was Superintendent Whittaker, of Occoquan Workhouse, following the suffragists' exposure of the frightful conditions for which he was responsible, and their filing of damage suits for $400,000,00 against the officials of Occoquan and the District Commissioners. These suits name Supt. Zinkham as one of the defendants, and are still pending. They have been postponed three times at the request of the Government, and are now due to come up again.

THE pitiless publicity given to the conditions under which the suffrage agitators were incarcerated aroused a storm of indignation throughout the entire country, which crystallized into four definite demands: the passage of the suffrage amendment, and incidentally prison reform, the recognition of the fundamental right of petition, and recognition of the rights of political prisoners. Zinkham's jail and Whittaker's workhouse have been the chief instruments used in the campaign of persecution by which it was sought to save the Administration embarrassment. That the instruments proved ineffective against the spirit of women was not because the instruments were not sharp-edged, but because of the stupidity of the whole scheme of trying to suppress by mediaeval methods, the spirit of forward-looking women of the twentieth century. Zinkham and Whittaker are relics of a past age—but they are not the only relics. They have been discarded—and other units of the whole caboodle will probably follow them to the scrap pile—in Gods' good time.

THERE have been over two hundred imprisonments of suffragists under Superintendent Zinkham or his colleagues, and these women represent every section of the country and numerous groups and interests—rich and poor, age and youth, north, east, south and west. They have passed in, to serve their time with the roaches, the rats and the vermin, to view the inside of the social sewer—and out again into the sunlight and air with an "inside knowledge" of things not soon to be forgotten. Railroaded into jail, held there illegally, some of them victims of a diabolically conceived and deliberately planned scheme of brutality; the keen edge of understanding penetrated their hearts and minds as no amount of abstract investigation of the ways of courts and prisons would have made possible.

Continued on Page 10

The Principle of Feminism

By Nancy Turner Pope, Denver, Colo.

THE principle that underlies the Feminist Movement is the same as that which caused the Reformation of the Sixteenth century. When Luther declared, "If the church says a thing is right and my conscience says it is wrong, I must abide by my conscience," he exactly defined the position taken by the women of today. They do not seek to dethrone authority, but to transfer it to the woman's own conscience.

The anti-feminists profess to believe that, once emancipated, women will no longer care for men, home or children. From this we conclude that they believe woman to possess no intrinsic quality of her own, but to have exercised virtue solely under male compulsion.

OUR faith, however, is greater. We believe that women, once free, will voluntarily accept their duties and responsibilities as experience has shown us men accepted theirs.

We do not claim superiority for our sex in any field. We fully recognize that, in the past, women have rivalled men in their vices as in their virtues. We are as familiar with Messalina as with Cornelia. We do say, however, that the sex that produced Elizabeth of England, Catherine of Russia and the late Dowager Empress of China, cannot be entirely deficient in statecraft.

WE maintain that women like St. Teresa, Florence Nightingale and Jane Addams have fully demonstrated that women may develop personality outside of marriage and the home. We believe their goodness and their efficiency to come from their hearts and heads, not from compulsion or authority.

The antis, in their attitude towards equal suffrage, remind us of the old story of the girl who decided that her jewels might prove a temptation to her, and therefore gave them to her sister! They refuse to accept the responsibility which belongs to them because of the risk it entails—they give it to their brothers!

Commonwealth Versus Jack

DO you know what a "p. i" case is? "P. i." is an expression used among lawyers as an abbreviation for peremptory instructions—the court's ruling upon determinative questions of law on the statement of facts submitted by the party making a charge. It means that the court says, in effect: "Taking everything you say to be true in the very strongest light in which it can be viewed, you haven't made out a case of any breach of the law, and I must therefore peremptorily instruct the jury to return a verdict of not guilty."

And that is what happened on April 23 in the case of Commonwealth of Massachusetts vs. Mrs. Cerise Carman Jack, in the Suffolk Superior Court when a verdict of not guilty was ordered by Judge Callahan, after hearing the testimony of Sergt. Oscar W. Burgers, who arrested Mrs. Jack, the wife of a Harvard professor. She was charged with speaking on the Common without a permit. The "Common" referred to was historic Boston Common. The speech was about the federal suffrage amendment, and the arrest was made on the day President Wilson sailed into Boston Harbor in the pursuit of democracy for all of Europe. President Wilson also spoke, it is reported. Whether he had a permit or not does not appear from the record. At least he wasn't arrested. Only sixteen women were. That's the penalty for being born a woman in these United States. Three women were arrested for speaking, Mrs. C. C. Jack, of Walpole, Mass.; Miss Elsie Hill, of Norwalk, Conn.; and Mrs. Mortimer Warren, of Manchester, N. H. Miss Hill and Mrs. Jack were sentenced to the Charles Street jail, Mrs. Jack having appealed her case. She had been fined one dollar for the offense for which Mrs. Hill was sentenced to jail for ten days. The case of Mrs. Warren has not yet been tried. The charges against the other 13 women were "sauntering and loitering"—a grave offense indeed when the sacred presence of a President is nigh. Why the thousands of other persons who "sauntered and loitered" on that occasion escaped scot free, also appears not from any court record.

THE readers of The Suffragist would never in the world understand the fine technical point upon which the court decision hinged. The Court said: "I believe that the remarks made by the defendant could not fairly be construed as a public address. What she is declared to have said is rather a comment on an earlier happening. I would not call it a public address."

The testimony upon this point was: "Her first announcement was: 'You see what the police are doing in the name of President Wilson or his supporters. President Wilson promised to make every effort to secure suffrage for us. By not doing this, he has violated his word of honor.'"

The prosecuting attorney raised the point with the Court: "Does your honor think that the remarks made by Mrs. Jack that President Wilson had violated his word of honor by not making every effort to secure suffrage and that the police officers were there to obstruct the suffrage protest, were a comment or a public speech?"

Then came this astute ruling: "I should say that taken in conjunction with the remark 'You see what the police are doing,' what Mrs. Jack said was a comment on preceding events, I cannot rule that it was a public address."

The great moral deduction from this case would seem to be that he (or she) who would make a public address may not comment on preceding events—if the public address is to remain a public address.

The one witness introduced testified that there were about 500 or 600 people in front of the band stand where Mrs. Jack stood when she made her comment on preceding events.

THIS is another triumph for the right of the members of the National Woman's Party to agitate for the federal suffrage amendment. The court decision emphasizes the injustice of the imprisonment of the other women who were arrested along with Mrs. Jack and puts squarely upon the officials of Boston the responsibility for the false imprisonment.

A large group of suffragists attended the trial. Mrs. Agnes Morey, State Chairman of the National Woman's Party, was present as Mrs. Jack's advocate. Witnesses on hand to testify in behalf of Mrs. Jack were: Mrs. Alice W. Movius, Miss Katherine Morey, Mrs. Louise Sykes, Mrs. Robert G. Fuller, Mrs. Stephen Chase, and Mrs. Harold Laski.

Mrs. Morey was also prepared to sub-poena the Mayor's Secretary to prove that up to the last minute the suffragists had received no definite reply from the Mayor's office relative to the permit that had been applied for, but that as a matter of fact the authorities positively expected the suffragists to hold their meeting, since the President was speaking in Mechanic's Hall, and not on the Common as the suffragists had at one time been told, and that messenger boys had been locked in the hall in an effort to keep them from relaying to the suffragists the President's speech which they desired to burn as sweet incense upon the altar of liberty.

READERS of The Suffragist may not understand the technical difference between a public speech and comments on preceding events, but as this isn't the first time authorities have capitulated before an array of well primed suffrage artillery—the precedent for the case of Commonwealth vs. Jack is well enough established to be accepted without question as the "law of the land."

Comments of the Press

Don't Know Women

LAST evening's meeting in the interest of woman suffrage sparkled with all sorts of brilliant little allusions, comments, and general remarks about men and things, and the big crowd was immensely entertained as well as informed. There was a fine "atmosphere" in the Palace, and the speakers must have felt as if they were in a fair play meeting, at all events. One of the ripples of appreciation that played for a moment on the surface was started when a speaker, referring to a remark made by a senator to the effect that the women don't know anything about politics, said that this may be so, but whether it is or not, this senator doesn't know anything about women. That made a hit.

Now there is something in this idea of knowing women, and we might as well think about it. No matter whether we side with the old-line women suffrage workers, or the picketing, prison-gate kind. Let that pass for the moment—or, rather, let us think of women as women, and of their struggle for full freedom and the rights of the citizenship they have striven so self-sacrificingly to win for others, in other lands. Let us try to visualize a great body of the womanhood of America bent on attaining full enfranchisement for themselves. Do we know women, if we hold to the notion that they are to be denied?

It is a fair question. There are men who seem to have the idea that they can head off suffrage. There are members of the United States Senate who are acting as if they entertained this notion. It is probably true that some of them are actuated by profound principles and, while recognizing that they cannot prevent the women from achieving their goal, will fight on to the end, just as a matter of principle. But it is just as likely that some are merely playing the delay game in the vain hope that the tide may turn against suffrage. Do these men know women? Do the rest of us who are still standing out know anything at all about women?

When the womanhood of a free nation gets to going in a given direction it doesn't stop until it "arrives." We know that well enough about everything except suffrage. We know that when there is a good, wholesome thing to be done in the city or state, and the women really take hold of it, the thing is as good as done. Years may pass in the doing of it, but the women don't turn back, they don't give in, they are not switched off upon sidetracks, or fooled into running up blind alleys. They keep their eyes fixed on the goal, keep going, and get there.

And enough of the women of America have got started in the direction of suffrage to make it a 100 per cent certainty that they will get what they are after.

The moral earnestness that has been aroused is of the kind that feeds upon opposition. These women simply won't stay beaten. Indeed, they haven't been beaten. Hope has been deferred, bitter disappointment has come to them, but they have never felt defeated. They are headed straight for full citizenship, with all its responsibilities and privileges, and they are going to have it. The man who knows woman, and is standing out against suffrage merely from whim, or habit, might just as well lay his playthings down. They are going to win.—*Manchester (N. H.) Leader, April 7.*

The Federal Amendment and Politics

THE Republicans want for themselves, in the great suffrage states that gave Mr. Wilson and the Democratic Party their slender majority in 1916, the credit of giving the vote to women, after the Democratic Congress had accepted the discredit of withholding this undisputed right from womanhood.—*The New Orleans Item. March 5, 1919.*

Another Chance

THE suffragists are going to give Senator Moses another chance. There is good precedent for this: the Lord gave the prophet Moses another set of commandments after he had smashed the first one.—*Manchester, N. H., Mirror, April 11, 1919*

The Insistence of Wise Politicians

SAYS the Public: "The National Woman Suffrage resolution submitting to the State Legislatures the question of an amendment to the Constitution of the United States preventing discrimination against women in voting, will be adopted by the new Congress within two weeks after it meets, according to the plan of Republican politicians who wish to appropriate to themselves all the credit for passing this amendment." These are times when wise politicians insist that making the world safe for democracy, like charity, should begin at home.—*Miami (Fla.) Metropolis, April, 9.*

What the Pickets Have Done

COXEY seems anxious to coach a new army, to "prohibit Bolshevism." His mathematics, though, is most questionable.

"If fifty women picketing the White House, can come within one vote of gaining the suffrage," he puts it, "what could 300,000 men do? And that is the number I expect to see pile into Washington as soon as I send out the call."—*Brooklyn, N. Y., Citizen, March 29*

Determination of Organized Women

A GOOD many United States Senators and Congressmen must have been surprised to learn that an official of the National Woman's Party has them neatly card-indexed for nativity, ancestry, education, religion, and other personal details, together with their past records, their favorite newspapers, and a few more cards to record information about their fathers, mothers, and brothers. Apparently the sisters, the cousins, and the aunts are not card-indexed. The existence of this card-index of national legislators, which comes to general knowledge through a newspaper man who lately interviewed the woman who is directing the Washington campaign for the conversion of senators and representatives, shows the determination with which organized women are steadily pressing for recognition as a part of the American electorate. Whether or not it represents an altogether desirable activity for the women is a point upon which there will be differences of opinion. It is unfortunately true that card-indexes of personal information have been used by men in ways that were very much open to question.—*Christian Science Monitor, April 21.*

An Open Field and No Favorites

OUR old friends, the Eastern suffragettes, are planning to contribute another mite to the gaiety of nations.

Some time ago, our rotund and very much beloved former President, W. H. Taft, made a "swing around the circle," in advocacy of the league of nations.

While Mr. Taft was on the Pacific Coast and Mr. Borah in Washington, the latter announced that he intended to trail Mr. Taft and deliver addresses in opposition to the plan the former Chief Executive was championing.

Yesterday, the indefatigable "suffs" informed the country that they would follow close upon the heels of Senator Borah, to inform the public in cities where he spoke against the league plan of his stand on the subject of Votes for Women.

Verily, it will be an imposing procession, with the portly Mr. Taft as pacemaker and the United States as the speedway for the numerous contenders.

The field's still open. Isn't this an admirable opportunity for the Anti-Suffragette League to trail the suffragettes?—*Seattle, Washington, Times, March 9.*

The Last Word

EVEN the United States Senate has doubtless observed that woman suffrage isn't going to let it have the last word.—*ridgeport, Conn., Telegram, March 21.*

Zinkham Dismissed

Continued from Page 7

From the jailers' viewpoint, the treatment accorded the suffragists was more than justified, since they were and have proved to be the most dangerous characters—to the existing order of the jails—that have ever been around. But the jailers failed to follow their viewpoint to the logical conclusion, or they would have killed the suffragists outright—since dead women tell no tales. At least—that is the logic of brute force, and only the logic of spiritual force says otherwise, that the dead do sometimes speak.

DURING the terms of imprisonment for holding banners in front of the White House suffragists were locked in their cells at night by women under indictment for murder, who were given the free run of the jail, while the suffragists were held for as much as four weeks at a time in solitary confinement. Prisoners charged with murder and larceny were permitted visitors and mail and allowed to buy their own food, while suffragists, guilty of no crime, were denied these rights belonging to political prisoners the world over. Suffragists were held incommunicado for weeks, were crowded at other times in with negro prostitutes, clothed in garments that had been worn by diseased criminals, denied tooth brushes, combs and other personal necessities, fed on wormy food, and upon starting a hunger strike as a protest against their treatment they were forcibly fed.

IN Zinkham's jail the most ordinary sanitary requirements were ignored. Vermin infested beds and cells and a rat for every prisoner were the common portion of his wards. Conditions have improved since the first suffrage pickets were jailed for the high crime of standing at the gate of the imperial palace, but each new group of suffrage prisoners has come out of jail with a deep resentment against the rottenness of a capricious prison system. Whims and prejudices were the rules by which the jail was run. When the whim and prejudice was for harshness, that was the order. When it was for leniency, that was the order. Deceit and trickery were the psychology of the place, and the officials were a law unto themselves—or perhaps but the reflection of the caprices of those "higher up."

THE sordid experiences of helpless outcasts with whom the suffragists came in contact in jail, have tinged with the doubt of grim reality the faith that "all's right with the world." For those outcasts, all has been wrong with the world. Against that wrong—wherever it lies—their broken spirits cry out to the "pickets" for help.

Lodgment in Zinkham's sewer has not been without its recompense.

Treasurer's Report

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List of contributions from April 19 through April 29, 1919.

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Per Mrs. Kent's Committee:

Mrs. Sophie G. Meredith, Va.	$ 25.00
Miss Aline E. Solomons, D. C.	2.00
Mrs. Vernon V. Rood, Cal.	17.50
Miss Olga Epstein, Cal.	10.00
Miss Effie Leath Hopkins, Conn.	1.00
Mrs. Alma D. Fleisher, N. Y.	10.00
Miss Charlotte W. Becker, Ill.	47.34

Per Pennsylvania Branch:

Miss L. L. Dock	5.00
Dr. Margaret R. Kollock	10.00
Mrs. Archibald Harmon	5.00
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Miss Jessie Anthony, Calif., (Legacy of $1,500 left to Miss Alice Paul, less $50 inheritance tax	1,450.00
Miss Elsie Hill, Conn.	5.00
Miss Mabel Hale, N. Y.	1.00
Miss Mary A. Burbank, T. H.	2.00
Membership Fees	11.00
Total collected by National Headquarters	2,139.34
Previously acknowledged in The Suffragist	421,557.11
Total collected by National Headquarters through April 29, 1919	423,696.45

Contributions made to Charleston, S. C., Branch:

Miss Mary P. Frost	5.00
Mrs. R. G. Thomas	5.00
Miss Ottolengui	2.00
Miss Carrie Pollitzer	2.00
Mrs. D. W. Bacot	5.00
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	30.00
Previously acknowledged in The Suffragist	82,239.42
Total collected by National Headquarters through April 29, 1919	82,269.42
Grand Total	505,965.87
Deduction: Transferred from Branch Headquarters to National Headquarters	4,933.50
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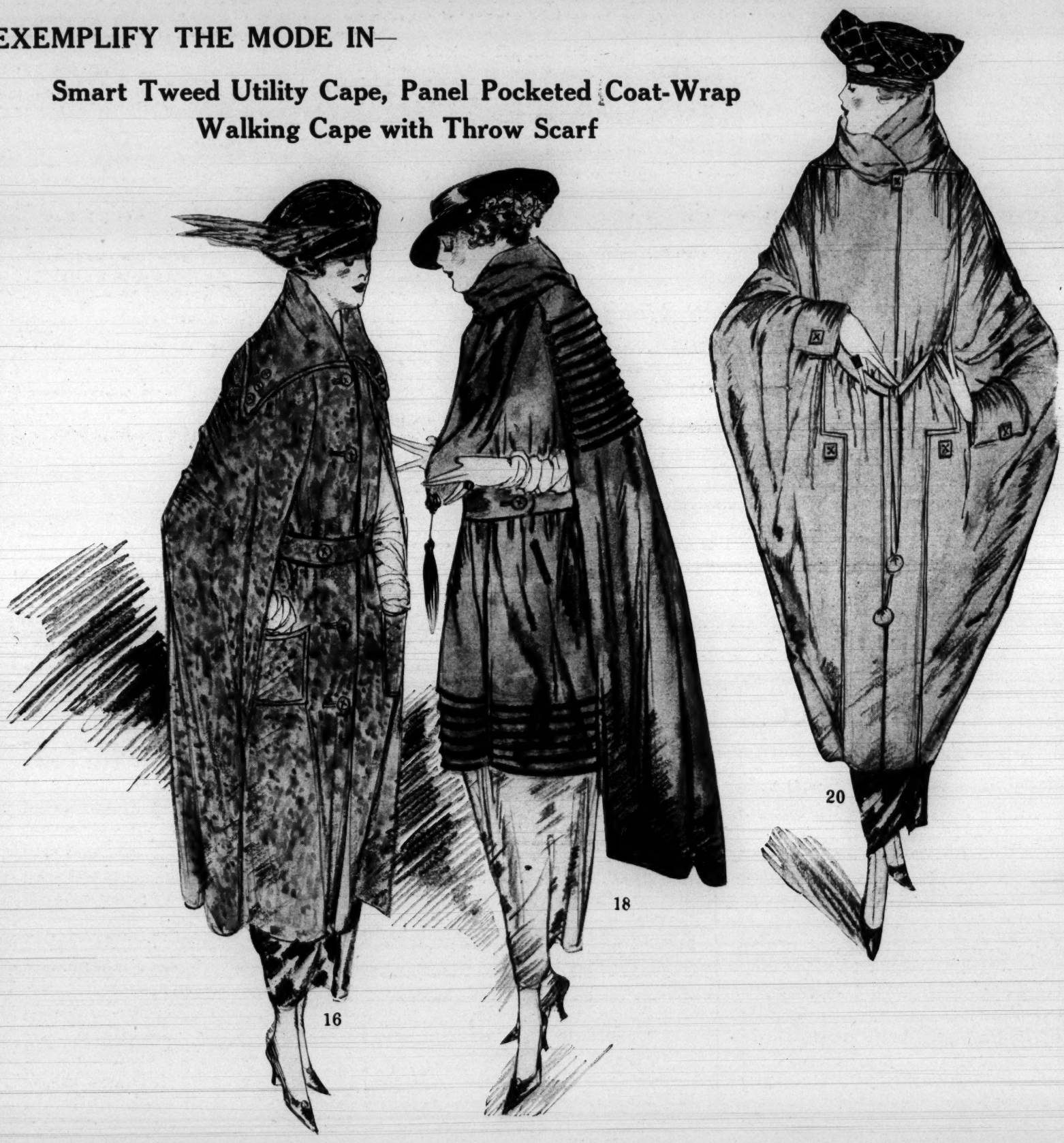

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